



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3337
17 February 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH MEETINGHeld at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 17 February 1994, at 5.05 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. OLHAYE	(Djibouti)
<u>Members:</u>	Argentina	Mr. CARDENAS
	Brazil	Mr. FUJITA
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. KOVANDA
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Nigeria	Mr. UHOMOIBHI
	Oman	Mr. AL-KHUSSAIBY
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. SIDOROV
	Rwanda	Mr. BIZIMANA
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. GREY

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The meeting was called to order at 5.05 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY CONCERNING EARTHQUAKE IN INDONESIA

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Security Council, I should like to express deep sympathy to the Government and people of Indonesia for the great loss of life and damage to property suffered as a result of the recent earthquake.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION CONCERNING RWANDA

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council, which welcomed the conclusion of the Arusha Peace Agreement and the political will demonstrated by the Rwandese parties in implementing it, remains deeply concerned by the delays in establishing the broad-based transitional government which is one of the key points in the Agreement. The absence of such a government is an impediment to progress under that Agreement and the functioning of institutions of the State. Furthermore, it is having adverse effects on the humanitarian situation in the country, the deterioration of which is of profound concern to the international community. The speedy installation of a broad-based transitional government would facilitate the provision of more effective assistance to the populations in need.

(The President)

"The Security Council, taking note of the fact that the President of Rwanda has been sworn in as the interim Head of State, encourages him, in the context of that responsibility, to continue his efforts for the speedy installation of the other transitional institutions, in conformity with the Arusha Peace Agreement.

"The Security Council calls on all the parties concerned to overcome their differences and cooperate fully with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in order to advance the process of national reconciliation. It strongly urges the establishment, without delay, of the provisional institutions provided for in the Arusha Peace Agreement.

"The Security Council is also deeply concerned at the deterioration in the security situation, particularly in Kigali. In this connection, it reminds the parties of their obligation to respect the weapon-free zone established in and around the city.

"The Security Council calls the attention of the parties to the consequences for them of non-compliance with that provision of the Agreement. It notes that UNAMIR will be assured of consistent support only if the parties implement the Arusha Peace Agreement fully and rapidly."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/8.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3338

23 February 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH MEETINGHeld at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 23 February 1994, at 11.30 a.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. OLHAYE	(Djibouti)
<u>Members:</u>	Argentina	Mr. CARDENAS
	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. KOVANDA
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	New Zealand	Mr. BOHEMEN
	Nigeria	Mr. OTUYELU
	Oman	Mr. AL-KHUSSAIBY
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Rwanda	Mr. BIZIMANA
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. INDERFURTH

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The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS
OPERATION IN MOZAMBIQUE (S/1994/89 and Add.1 and Add.2)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Mozambique, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Afonso (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), contained in documents S/1994/89 and Addenda 1 and 2.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/188, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the representative of Mozambique, on whom I now call.

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): First of all, Sir, I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are confident that, with your well-known experience and excellent leadership qualities, you will guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion. I also wish to pay special tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Karel Kovanda of the Czech Republic, for the excellent job he did during his presidency last month.

I also wish to seize this occasion to welcome most sincerely the new members of the Council: Argentina, the Czech Republic, Nigeria, Oman and Rwanda. I pledge to them my delegation's full support and cooperation, and I look forward to working very closely with them in the months ahead.

Let me also avail myself of this opportunity to express my delegation's deepest gratitude for the excellent performance by the delegations of Cape Verde, Hungary, Japan, Morocco and Venezuela during their mandate and for their intensive work on the Council over the past two years.

I would like to reiterate my Government's deepest respect for our Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and for his continued efforts in the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security.

My delegation is happy to participate in this meeting of the Security Council, which was convened to consider the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), as requested by resolution 882 (1993). On behalf of my Government, I would like to make a few comments regarding some issues identified in the Secretary-General's report, to which we attach great importance.

First of all, I wish to address the issue of the disengagement of ONUMOZ's military contingent from Mozambique. It is our belief

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

that the reduction of the military component should be undertaken in connection with developments in the demobilization of troops and in the training and coming into operation of the Mozambican Defence Force, the new army. In December 1992 my Government agreed with resolution 797 (1992), which requested the Secretary-General to seek economies through "phased deployment" and to report regularly in that regard. We recognize that since then significant and encouraging progress has been made in the implementation of major aspects of the General Peace Agreement.

Throughout this process, my Government has always been sensitive to the burden placed on the international community in assisting the Mozambican people to bring to an end the externally financed war which has ravaged our country for more than 16 years. We are conscious of the fact that the financial resources of our Organization are limited, if not already stretched beyond capacity. We therefore understand, and have accepted, the draft resolution before us today, particularly its operative paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 19. I assure the Council and the Secretary-General that my Government will fully cooperate in the implementation of the Council's decisions.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

With regard to problems relating to the assembly and demobilization of troops, my Government has had the opportunity to explain time and again that the logistical and organizational difficulties we currently confront in no way affect the political will and good faith of the Mozambican Government to honour fully its obligations under the General Peace Agreement. As indicated in the relevant report (S/1994/89), during the initial period, Government troops, fully equipped, proceeded to the assembly areas in much larger numbers than the RENAMO forces and this continues to be the case. The organizational and logistical problems faced by my Government have led to a slowing down of the pace of the cantonment of Government troops, but the number of our assembled troops remains far larger than that of RENAMO's. According to the figures released by the ONUMOZ technical unit for demobilization, as of 21 February 1994 - two days ago - 26,768 Government troops had been checked into the assembly areas, as against 10,628 RENAMO combatants.

I would like to underline that the organizational and logistical problems faced by the Government in the assembly areas are similar to those faced in RENAMO's assembly areas, which are under the full responsibility of ONUMOZ. I wish in this respect to note that a tripartite mission - made up of representatives of the Government and RENAMO, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General himself, and representatives of the participants in the Monitoring and Supervisory Commission, namely France, Italy, Portugal, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) - visited 10 assembly areas in different parts of the country from 25 January to 5 February 1994 in order to take an in-depth look at the problems faced in those areas.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

The tripartite mission noted in that regard that the problems related to logistical support and the provision of food and adequate conditions were common to the Government and ONUMOZ. The mission noted furthermore that RENAMO areas, which, as I have said, are fully under ONUMOZ responsibility, were in no better shape than those of Government troops. In a number of cases, the mission recognized that those areas were in fact in even worse condition than those of Government forces. It also noted that with regard, for instance, to accommodations, RENAMO tents in the assembly areas were much more poorly equipped than those of Government forces. In the event of rain, they are confronted with the problem of water leakage. Complaints about a lack of clothing and blankets were also made by RENAMO combatants.

In terms of food supplies, both Government and RENAMO assembly areas were confronted with serious shortages. Generally, the assembled personnel had only one meal daily. Supplies of fresh products were deficient in Government assembly areas and almost nonexistent in RENAMO areas. The supply of fresh water, particularly in RENAMO areas, constituted another problem yet to be solved.

As far as medical care was concerned, existing problems were similar in both Government and RENAMO assembly areas. Although each camp had a medical staff, some of the assembly areas had insufficient supplies of medicines. Diseases confronting one side were common to the other.

The tripartite mission also verified that another problem in the assembly areas was related to the inability of ONUMOZ military observers to register more than 50 combatants daily out of the thousands arriving in the assembly areas each day. This could

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

explain why, out of the combined total of 37,396 combatants who had checked into assembly areas as of 21 February 1994, more than 3,000 had yet to be duly registered by ONUMOZ.

Regrettably, the report of the Secretary-General under consideration today was finalized and published prior to the mission's findings and conclusions following its visit to the assembly areas. Those findings and conclusions would indeed have been helpful in providing valuable information and answers to a wide range of issues raised in the report. We therefore believe it would have been very useful had members of the Council been fully briefed and updated on these developments and on these logistical and organizational problems.

We fully agree that it is necessary to address these matters quickly and effectively. However, we would also like the members of the Council to understand that in the present circumstances these are normal problems associated with such a large operation. Assembly areas are just transit points; difficulties arising from them should not divide us in our common determination to implement fully the General Peace Agreement. There is no deliberate intention, at least on the Government side, to neglect the health and well-being of our troops and compatriots in the assembly areas.

Rather, the Council should appreciate that, despite the severe constraints, which do not permit us to do everything we would very much like to do in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, we continue to be fully committed and determined to achieve our objectives. It is for these reasons that we continue to appeal to the international community to assist us in the fulfilment of our responsibilities in order to provide the needed support for our troops in the assembly areas and training centres.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

On the issue of arms collection, we would very much like to state that this is a matter of great concern to my Government. In fact, what happened was that in the initial phase of the cantonment of troops, while Government forces were handing over all their weapons in full compliance with the terms set forth by the Cease-fire Commission, RENAMO combatants were refusing to hand over their weapons to ONUMOZ military observers. Obviously, those actions, which were widely reported by the media, were in clear contravention of RENAMO's commitments under the Rome Agreement. Subsequently, once RENAMO's refusal had been denounced and condemned, RENAMO began to hand over to ONUMOZ completely obsolete weapons unsuitable for combat, and in some cases even traditional weapons.

As I speak today, many RENAMO combatants still report to the assembly areas without their weapons. Moreover, we have not been able to obtain any information whatsoever on the whereabouts of the remaining, and most threatening, category of medium- and heavy-calibre RENAMO weapons still unaccounted for.

A careful reading of paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Secretary-General's report can better illustrate these concerns. As indicated in these paragraphs, as of 24 January 1994, 9,895 Government soldiers had checked into assembly areas and handed over 11,382 weapons, while 6,714 RENAMO combatants had checked into assembly areas and handed over only 6,200 weapons. These concerns can be further highlighted by the most recent figures released by the ONUMOZ technical unit. According to these figures, as of 21 February 1994, 26,768 Government troops who had checked into assembly areas had handed over 27,183 weapons, while 10,628 RENAMO combatants had handed over only 8,656 weapons, representing less

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

than one weapon - in fact, a figure of 0.8 - for each RENAMO soldier who checked into assembly areas.

In addition to these concerns, it was also noted during the tripartite mission's visit, that, with the exception of the Chiramba assembly area, a significant portion of RENAMO personnel in the assembly areas was made up of aged people and teenagers averaging between 13 and 15 years old. In one of the assembly areas, Muchena, some 27 per cent of the assembled personnel are physically disabled and unable to perform basic military duties.

I hope that this issue will in future command the attention of this body. My Government is not talking only about numerical imbalances between the parties. The problem is much more serious than simple statistics or the proportions of numbers of troops assembled by both parties.

It is crystal clear to everyone that it was neither the old, obsolete weapons, nor the arms of small calibre, nor the aged and physically disabled people we see today in the assembly areas, that enabled RENAMO to sustain its war efforts for more than a decade of military operations.

It would therefore appear to us that the insistence on balance between the parties should be about quantitative and qualitative balance and not just arithmetical balance. My Government is assembling its soldiers - real soldiers with all their weapons. On the other hand, what we see on the other side is predominantly the cantonment of unarmed aged people, disabled people and children. In fact, this situation risks creating a situation of unilateral disarmament and demobilization of Government troops.

These are matters of concern to my Government. Given the well-known experience in similar cases, these facts provide us, indeed, with fundamental and genuine reasons to worry. They raise

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

questions as to the real intentions of the other party. We hope that the Council in particular, and the international community at large, will put pressure on RENAMO to assemble all its combatants and surrender all its weapons.

My Government is determined to continue faithfully and fully to abide by the commitments we have entered into under the General Peace Agreement. Our target has been, and will always remain, the deadlines agreed to in the revised timetable.

As to the dispute between the parties over control of the proposed locations for assembly areas in Salamanga, I should like to point out that on three different occasions the Supervision and Monitoring Commission, the highest body established to oversee the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, has determined that RENAMO violated the cease-fire and should therefore withdraw its forces from Salamanga to positions held prior to the cease-fire. After several months of violation of the decisions of the Supervision and Monitoring Commission, we are now informed that RENAMO has finally decided to pull out from Salamanga, but it opposed the presence of any representative of the Government in the Cease-fire Commission to witness its withdrawal, which is against the agreed procedures in the Cease-fire Commission. Furthermore, RENAMO declared that it considers this area to be terra nullius. It has also stated that its withdrawal from Salamanga represents recognition that there are two separate administrations in Mozambique. All these are, of course, unfounded arguments.

Together with these attitudes, we have been hearing in recent days pronouncements by the RENAMO leadership already anticipating that eventual loss in the general elections could be possible only under conditions of fraud and unfair elections. This is, to say

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

the least, disturbing. These threats take place at a time when all the institutional mechanisms necessary for the conduct of free and fair elections have been established and are fully operational.

As the Council will recall, the Government has done everything possible to accommodate RENAMO's concerns. As a result, RENAMO, as well as all other political parties, is fully represented in the National Elections Commission, where one of its seven representatives serves as a co-Vice-Chairman, and it is equally and adequately represented in the Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration. Moreover, the whole electoral process will be duly supervised by ONUMOZ and other international observers, with the possibility of appealing to the Electoral Tribunal, made up of two national judges and three international judges, to be proposed by the Security Council and appointed by the Secretary-General.

In view of what I have said, it does not make any sense that at this stage one should start questioning the validity of a process which is intended to be as transparent, free and fair as possible, precisely to avoid any misunderstandings between the parties. It is my Government's hope that as we come closer to the electoral process, these pronouncements, which are far from constructive, will be taken seriously by the Council.

In this respect, I have been instructed further by my Government to inform the Council that the Supreme Court of Mozambique is ready to take action on the nomination of the two Mozambican judges to the Electoral Tribunal next March. We would appreciate it if the Security Council and the Secretary-General could initiate consultations and mechanisms for the early appointment of the international judges in order to allow the establishment, as soon as possible, of the Electoral Tribunal.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

My Government is aware that this is a very delicate phase in our nation's history. We therefore believe that it is high time that the Security Council carried out a serious review of how it can best strengthen its authority among the parties, especially with regard to denouncing and acting upon systematic violations of the commitments made under the General Peace Agreement and the understandings reached thereafter.

In this connection, we believe that it is very important that the parties be educated and urged to review their respective codes of conduct in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement. My Government will continue to work closely with the Council, the Secretary-General and ONUMOZ towards the attainment of these objectives.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Mozambique for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. OTUYELU (Nigeria): My delegation would at the outset like to express its thanks to the Secretary-General for the very useful report on the current situation in Mozambique contained in documents S/1994/89 and Addenda 1 and 2. We wish to commend also the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Aldo Ajello, and all the personnel of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) for their tireless efforts in seeking to carry out ONUMOZ's mandate under very difficult military and political

(Mr. Otuyelu, Nigeria)

circumstances. Our thanks also go to those Member States and non-governmental organizations actively involved in the tasks of assembling and demobilizing troops, training the prospective Mozambican Defence Force, and coping with Mozambique's humanitarian needs.

My Government is delighted that Mozambique, a country with which Nigeria has close fraternal and historic ties, stands out as one of the few countries where an international peace-keeping operation shows positive indications of coming to a relatively early and smooth conclusion. In this connection, we are glad to note the statement made by the representative of Mozambique and to note that the assembly and cantonment of both Government and RENAMO troops have begun in the designated assembly areas, despite certain logistical problems.

On the political side, we are also delighted that preparations for elections seem to be continuing on schedule, although that schedule is becoming tighter; we note with satisfaction also the approval of the Electoral Law by the Mozambican National Assembly on 9 December 1993. We also note with satisfaction this morning the efforts to appoint judges to the Electoral Tribunal. In addition, despite occasional incidents, it has been possible to maintain a general cease-fire in Mozambique.

We are, however, mindful of the great difficulties that still lie ahead in implementing the Mozambican peace process fully: quite a few assembly areas have yet to be opened up and the demobilization of troops, the transfer of weapons from assembly areas to regional warehouses and the dismantling of the country's paramilitary forces still have to be carried out. Most crucial, perhaps, is the outstanding task of establishing the well-organized and efficient Mozambican Defence Force that, in my delegation's

(Mr. Otuyelu, Nigeria)

view, is critical to both the short- and the long-term survival of a post-ONUMOZ Mozambique.

In the context of moving the peace process forward and strengthening the existing peace mechanisms, the Council will note the suggestions and the appeal made by the representative of Mozambique this morning. We believe, however, that the Secretary-General's current proposals for an ONUMOZ police contingent, contained in Addendum 2 to his current report, when fully and promptly implemented will be adequate to achieve the objective of maintaining peace.

The necessity of having a United Nations police force to monitor all police activities in the country and provide technical support for the National Police Affairs Commission established under the General Peace Agreement signed in Rome in October 1992 - which provides the real basis for our ongoing peace efforts in the country - cannot be overemphasized.

The draft resolution before the Council this morning represents a significant step forward in our collective effort to bring peace to Mozambique and to increase peace in the world. My delegation will support it, and wishes to commend it to members for unanimous adoption, essentially for three reasons.

First, the draft resolution urges both sides in Mozambique to continue to do all that is necessary to facilitate the full implementation of all the commitments they have entered into, especially those relating to the assembly of troops and the formation of a national defence force.

Secondly, while appreciating the important role of donors in ensuring the supply of humanitarian and relief services, the draft resolution recognizes the unassuaged humanitarian needs encountered in the present situation in the country and the need for increased

(Mr. Otuyelu, Nigeria)

international assistance. Reports on the humanitarian situation in Mozambique attest to the fact that the largest refugee repatriation in African history is now under way in that country. The international community faces the challenge of the massive resettlement of 1.5 million refugees and about 4 million Mozambicans who were internally displaced by war and by famine, which, we hope, will be tackled with generosity and determination by the international community.

Thirdly, and finally, the draft resolution underscores the time constraints with which we are presently faced in implementing the peace process in Mozambique. My delegation is of the view that the projected election date of October 1994 is not particularly far away, and so it is more important now than ever before that all hands are called on deck and that the parties, in particular, are nudged forward towards cooperation and towards fully playing their part with faith in this process.

In this connection, time is of the essence, and no effort should be spared to ensure the smooth completion of the peace process. The statement by the representative of Mozambique heightens our optimism in this regard.

Mr. BIZIMANA (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Rwanda examined with keen interest the excellent report of the Secretary-General dated 28 January 1994 and its two addenda. My delegation fully endorses its recommendations, particularly the recommendation that a civilian police component of the United Nations be created as an integral component of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

We strongly believe that the proposed decision to create this civilian police component will help promote trust between the parties. My delegation is happy that one of its principal missions will be to oversee, along with other elements of ONUMOZ, the smooth progress of the electoral campaign and to ensure respect for the political rights of individuals, groups and political groupings, in accordance with the General Peace Agreement.

We believe that, as the Secretary-General indicates in his report, the generally favourable development of the situation in Mozambique argues for continued support by the international community for the peace process that has begun there.

My country wishes to see Mozambique living in peace and resolutely embarking upon the road to progress, and so we note with particular satisfaction that within the framework of the implementation of the General Peace Agreement the parties are continuing to cooperate fully and to comply with the timetable drawn up by common consent, particularly regarding the cantonment of troops in the assembly areas.

We are pleased to note that in general the process is moving ahead positively, though there are certain delays here and there in the implementation of certain aspects of the General Peace Agreement, in particular regarding the dismantling of the militia and paramilitary forces, which should have begun at the same time as the cantonment.

(Mr. Bizimana, Rwanda)

Since it is important to respect the agreed timetable, my delegation would encourage the parties involved to try to eliminate the delays. We invite them to redouble their efforts to accelerate this operation, which is a crucial stage that should generate a climate of mutual trust that will contribute to the smooth progress of the scheduled elections.

We welcome the fact that the signatories of the Peace Agreement continue to maintain contacts at the highest level, with a view to making progress within the framework of the Agreement. We believe that this political will manifested by the two parties requires the support of the international community.

As the Secretary-General's report points out, Mozambique is going through one of the most significant periods of its history, since what is happening today will determine the immediate future of the country.

My delegation notes that the elections will take place in October 1994, and we hope that the international community will spare no effort to provide financial assistance, by contributing generously to the special fund to be created to support electoral activities in Mozambique.

We believe that for the peace process in Mozambique to be crowned with success, the disarmament operation and the return of those displaced from their homes by war, as well as the repatriation of refugees, must be effective. In this context, we encourage the parties to conclude the cantonment of troops in accordance with the revised timetable.

We believe that in order to guarantee peace and stability special attention should be given to programmes to reintegrate demobilized soldiers within civilian society. In this connection, my country urges the international community to contribute to the

(Mr. Bizimana, Rwanda)

financing of the programme to support the reintegration of demobilized troops, to be carried out under the auspices of the United Nations.

On another front, it is encouraging to note that the return of displaced persons and refugees has accelerated. A significant number of persons displaced by the war have returned home, while 621,000 refugees have left the camps set up in neighbouring countries and returned to their native regions. It is important to point out, however, that all these encouraging events could be brought to a halt by the humanitarian problem, which is far from having been resolved. We therefore believe that the international community must increase its support for the global programme for humanitarian aid to Mozambique, the updated version of which was made available in November of last year.

My delegation is aware of the financial constraints which the peace-keeping operations have encountered. Thus, while we subscribe to the approach to the reduction of the military element proposed by the Secretary-General in his report, we believe that such an operation should take place after the completion of the entire demobilization process, and that it should be progressive and not prejudice the effective realization of the mandate of ONUMOZ.

My country attaches great importance to the decision the Security Council is about to take to strengthen peace in Mozambique and to facilitate the smooth holding of elections through the deployment of a United Nations civil police force.

My delegation, wishing to see Mozambique enjoy peace and stability once more and deal with the after-effects of the war that plagued it for a number of years, will vote in favour of the draft resolution the Council is about to adopt.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese):

With the help of the international community and through the efforts of the two Mozambican parties, a number of encouraging results have been achieved in the Mozambique peace process, among which I would like to mention in particular the many rounds of talks and the cooperation between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama, President of RENAMO, as well as the approval of the Electoral Law and the appointment of the National Elections Commission by the Mozambican National Assembly. Meanwhile, the paramilitary forces, the militia and the irregular troops in Mozambique have all started to demobilize, which undoubtedly will facilitate the general election.

The peace process in Mozambique is now at a crucial stage, and there is not much time left before the general election, which, according to the General Peace Agreement, is to be held in October this year. We sincerely hope that the two parties in Mozambique will continue to take practical and effective measures in cooperation with ONUMOZ, and to implement fully the General Peace Agreement and the relevant Security Council resolutions so as to ensure that the general election will be held on schedule.

At the same time, the international community, including the United Nations, should continue in every way possible to help the people of Mozambique to reach this goal so that Mozambique will be able to set out on the road of national reconstruction and economic recovery.

For the same purpose, the Secretary-General has recommended that more United Nations police monitors should be sent to Mozambique, which, in his view, will help achieve a smooth preparation for the general election and enhance the peace process. The Chinese delegation shares his view and will vote in favour of the draft resolution, which supports this recommendation.

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

The successful implementation of the General Peace Agreement depends, in the final analysis, on the Mozambican people themselves, and the key lies in a broadly-based national reconciliation. As long as there is political will, the existing difficulties can and should be removed.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council is preparing to adopt the draft resolution before us, which authorizes the establishment of a police component as an integral part of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

The Spanish delegation welcomes this step, which underscores the fact that the international community's commitment to the peace process in Mozambique continues to be solid, and reaffirms the hope that the international community has placed in the will of the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO to comply with the revised timetable in order to implement fully the General Peace Agreement which should lead to the holding of elections in October 1994.

(Mr. Yañez Barneuvo, Spain)

The Secretary-General's report of 28 January describes the progress that has been made by the parties, but says that there still remain serious problems regarding the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, referring specifically to the cantonment and demobilization of the ex-combatants and the establishment of the new Mozambique armed forces. It is essential that outstanding issues, including those related to the Government of Mozambique's providing adequate facilities and resources for the troops in the assembly areas and training centres, be resolved and that cantonment be accelerated in order to avoid any imbalance between the parties, which could have a negative impact on the process, with delays in the revised timetable.

My delegation is convinced that these difficulties can be overcome. We therefore welcome the recent news from the Secretariat, as well as the information provided today by the representative of Mozambique, about fresh efforts to improve the situation. We believe that the momentum initiated during the summer of 1993 between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama must not be allowed to diminish as we are now in the home stretch of this peace process. Today's draft resolution is in fact an appeal to the parties to comply with their commitments with resolve.

The establishment of a police component of 1,144 members of ONUMOZ, whose mandate and deployment are described in paragraphs 9 to 18 of Addendum 1 of the Secretary General's report, is encouraging for the people of Mozambique. It suggests a measure of developing confidence that will help pave the way to national reconciliation. The new component of the observer mission will have the important task, at the express request of the Government of Mozambique and of RENAMO, of monitoring all police activities in the country and ensuring respect for the fundamental rights and

(Mr. Yañez Barneuvo, Spain)

freedoms of the citizens, in particular during the electoral process. It should be emphasized that the maintenance of law and order continues to be the responsibility of the Government of Mozambique.

The primary purpose of the phased deployment of the police observers is to ensure the effective discharge of their mandate and to link it to compliance with the revised timetable of the General Peace Agreement. This also establishes flexible machinery to enable a gradual reduction of the military component, as the police component is being deployed and assumes its tasks, without any prejudice to the effective carrying out of the mandate of ONUMOZ.

The prospect of a gradual reduction of the military forces of ONUMOZ is proof that the peace process in Mozambique is safely on track, and that a good part of the observer mission's objectives is being fulfilled. It should be emphasized that in this new stage the presence of the police component is particularly necessary, to contribute to improving respect for law and order throughout the country and to ensure the necessary freedom and transparency for the smooth holding of the elections in October 1994.

Spain remains confident that the peace process in Mozambique contains the necessary elements to be viewed as a model throughout the African continent. As proof of this, my country actively participates in the United Nations observer mission in Mozambique and intends to contribute to the new tasks assigned it in the draft resolution, which we hope the Security Council is about to adopt unanimously.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/188.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 898 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. LADSOU (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation is pleased with the success achieved in implementing the peace process in Mozambique, particularly since the Secretary-General's visit to Maputo. We also pay tribute to the efforts made by the Secretary-General's Special Representative to Mozambique in ensuring the success of this Operation.

The French Government, which is firmly in favour of respecting the election date of October 1994, is concerned about the delays that have occurred in implementing the Rome Agreements, especially as concerns demobilization and the setting up of a national defence force.

My delegation voted in favor of the resolution, which establishes a police contingent of more than a thousand observers, as we consider that it has an essential role in preparing for the electoral process and in its successful progress. At the same time, France is pleased that, for reasons of economy, the Secretary-General envisages in parallel with the deployment of this important police force, a phased reduction of the military contingent, while maintaining the efficiency and credibility of the Operation. On this score my delegation awaits the concrete proposals of the Secretary-General in his next report.

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

France, which, as the Secretary-General was kind enough to mention in his report, is assisting in establishing the new Mozambican army and is contributing to the financing of the electoral process, agrees with the Secretary-General that the transformation of RENAMO into a true political party is one of the keys to the success of the peace process. It is therefore contributing to the fund created for this purpose.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): My delegation voted for the resolution, because it strongly supports the establishment of a United Nations police component as an integral part of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). It represents a welcome indication, as the Secretary-General explains in his report, that the situation on the ground allows for an increasing shift away from the monitoring of cease-fire arrangements and towards the verification of police activities in the run-up to the elections. Equally, it is important that the Secretary-General, as he has promised, present specific proposals to the Council for the phased reduction of the military component of ONUMOZ, starting at the earliest date consistent with not compromising the effective discharge of the Operation's mandate.

The peace process in Mozambique is now at a critical juncture. As the Secretary-General's excellent report of 28 January makes clear, there has been progress in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement in Mozambique, and we commend President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama for their efforts in this regard. But we do remain extremely concerned at delays in some of the major aspects of the General Peace Agreement, in particular in the assembly and demobilization of forces. The imbalance between the two sides in the proportion of their forces now in the assembly areas, for example, needs to be rectified urgently. We are also concerned

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

about delays in establishing the new unified national defence force, which has a key role to play in promoting reconciliation between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO and in providing security during the election period. It is essential that arrangements be made to provide the requisite numbers of troops and to rehabilitate the training camps.

These delays mean that the timetable for implementation of the General Peace Agreement is becoming increasingly tight. It is essential that elections take place on schedule in October this year, a point this Council has emphasized on a number of occasions in recent months and has done so once again in the resolution we have just adopted. If the elections do not take place in October there is a real risk that they may well be delayed until the end of the rainy season in May next year, which in turn could lead to the unravelling of the peace process.

ONUMOZ is one of the most costly United Nations peace-keeping operations in existence. When its mandate comes up for renewal at the beginning of May we shall need to consider the degree of progress made in the implementation of the Peace Agreement. If it transpires that the prospect of elections in October is becoming unrealistic, then it will be doubtful whether the operation can be maintained, certainly at its present level.

We therefore appeal to both President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama to display the vision required and to issue the necessary instructions to their subordinates to avoid the process becoming bogged down in unnecessary wrangling. There is no advantage to either party in further delay. Mozambique needs stability in order to establish a firm basis for the economic and social rehabilitation which the country desperately needs.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

The resolution just adopted also contains an appeal to the international community to provide the necessary financial assistance for the implementation of the General Peace Agreement and to contribute to the Trust Fund to be set up to support the efforts of the political parties. My delegation supports this appeal, and in particular the one for contributions to the Trust Fund, which was established on 10 May 1993.

In conclusion, I should like to pay tribute to the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and to all the personnel of ONUMOZ for their efforts in support of the peace process.

Mr.INDERFURTH (United States of America): The United States is encouraged by the progress achieved in the Mozambican peace process since the Secretary-General's last report to the Security Council in November. We are pleased to see the initiation of troop cantonment in designated assembly areas, completion of training for the first elements of the new army, approval of an electoral law, and convening of the National Elections Commission. We congratulate both RENAMO and the Government of Mozambique.

We note, however, that problems and delays jeopardize the holding of elections in October. We are particularly concerned at the extremely slow pace of troop assembly and the failure to start actual demobilization. Formation of the new army is also lagging. The Security Council's resolution calls upon the parties to meet fully their commitments; this reflects the Council's determination that the October elections will be held as scheduled. We urge, moreover, that a specific date for elections be fixed soon.

The deployment of a sizeable police observer force to Mozambique will, we believe, promote achievement of the stable security environment necessary for free and fair elections.

(Mr. Inderfurth, United States)

Anticipating the attainment this year of the Operation's primary objectives, the Council has also requested the Secretary-General to prepare plans for the termination of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and the withdrawal of all its personnel by the end of November.

It is important to take advantage of conditions on the ground that permit economies in the United Nations operation. My Government strongly supports the Council's decision that the police contingent be expanded in such a way that there will be no increase in the cost of ONUMOZ. We will be following up with our Embassy in Maputo. Our Ambassador will work closely with the United Nations peace-keeping mission, and my Mission and I will work closely here in New York to ensure that total costs do not increase.

As long as Mozambicans are fully and clearly committed to creating a more hopeful future for their country through the peace process, their efforts will have the support of the international community. The outcome will have profound implications, not only for the citizens of Mozambique, but throughout southern Africa. RENAMO and the Government should, in the short time remaining until renewal of the United Nations mandate is considered in April, exert every effort to return the peace process to its timetable.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): The resolution the Security Council has just adopted is the result of a careful and thorough review of the situation in Mozambique, of the implementation of the General Peace Agreement and of the role of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

Brazil continues to follow with great interest the evolution of the political process in that country. Brazilians are linked to Mozambique by common historical, cultural and ancestral ties. We maintain with Mozambique an especially intense relationship, which

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

is bound to grow even further once that sister country can finally proceed along the path of peace, stability, and economic and social development.

Our basic perception is that the overall situation in Mozambique is evolving favourably, but that strong support from the international community is still required at this decisive moment of the implementation of the General Peace Agreement. The number of positive developments described by the Secretary-General in his report (S/1994/89) dated 28 January 1994, for which we are indeed grateful, seem to reveal that peace is finally in sight. We particularly welcome the start of the assembly of troops and of the dismantling of paramilitary forces, militia and irregular troops, the enactment of the Electoral Law and the appointment of the National Elections Commission and of its chairperson.

Lingering problems and difficulties, which we do not fail to acknowledge, do not seem unsurmountable. In this connection, we pay special tribute to the vital role the President of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Chissano, has been playing in the entire peace process. His wisdom and statesmanship have been crucial in overcoming political hurdles. We take this opportunity to strongly urge Mr. Dhlakama and RENAMO, the other party, to display the same political will and good faith in meeting the obligations to which they are committed under the General Peace Agreement.

In this connection, I wish to thank the Permanent Representative of Mozambique, Ambassador Pedro Comissario Afonso, for the very detailed statement he made this morning. I was particularly struck by his reaffirmation of the commitments entered into by the Government of Mozambique under the General Peace Agreement, as well as by the frank and open description of the practical difficulties affecting the peace process. My delegation

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

believes that the Council should keep the new developments described in the information thus provided under constant and close scrutiny.

We supported the resolution just adopted, because through it the international community reiterates its commitment to help Mozambique in its quest to achieve a peaceful and lasting internal settlement. For ONUMOZ and other peace-keeping operations undertaken by the United Nations, this resolution underlines, inter alia, the need to continue to monitor expenditures carefully, a concept to which the Brazilian Government is firmly attached. But of far greater importance is the fact that the Security Council makes it clear that, whatever adjustments are to be introduced, the purposes of these operations can never be put in jeopardy.

The approved establishment of a police component as part of ONUMOZ is per se an important step forward. It reflects a significant improvement in the situation of Mozambique. We fully concur with the Secretary-General's assessment that it will be beneficial to keep much of the present United Nations-formed units in Mozambique until elections are held. The Brazilian Government also shares the view of the Secretary-General that while the demobilization of troops is still proceeding it would not be advisable to reduce the ONUMOZ military component significantly.

My delegation is not persuaded that a withdrawal of military troops should occur merely to offset cost increases generated by the deployment of the police contingent. First and foremost, we believe that police and military troops are not interchangeable. My Government is committed to preventing any disruption of the important and complex responsibilities attributed to the military component of ONUMOZ as long as potential problems or difficulties exist.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

A premature withdrawal of troops could put at risk the ultimate goal of peace and stability in Mozambique, for it would be likely to create far greater difficulties than any savings generated from military cutbacks. We believe that the Council is not compelled to act on the basis of avoiding cost increments without duly taking into account prevailing circumstances facing ONUMOZ. The Council, in our view, should not be lured by apparently appealing savings which in the long run may be self-defeating.

Paragraph 3 of the resolution we have just adopted is very clearly worded. The Council is requesting the Secretary-General to present proposals for adjustments in the composition of ONUMOZ. Those proposals, however, are not to be made without due consideration of the political and military situation in Mozambique. Ensuring that there is no increase in the cost of ONUMOZ is a goal, whereas the effective discharge of the ONUMOZ mandate is a definite directive to guide the proposals to be presented to the Council.

According to paragraph 13 of resolution 882 (1993), the next report of the Secretary-General will be due by 30 April. There are three target dates to be retained in terms of the time-frame of the peace process. The most important is October-November this year, when it is expected that elections will be held and that the newly elected Government will assume office. The other two are May, when demobilization is to be completed, and September, when the new national defence force is expected to become operational.

My Government is confident that in Mozambique we are indeed close to a much needed success story for United Nations peace-keeping efforts. The Council should, however, continue

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

monitoring the situation in order to be able to prevent any possible procrastination in the peace process.

We all realize that peace has its costs. Nevertheless, the absence of peace is costlier. Let us think of how peace will alleviate the human suffering that the people of Mozambique has been undergoing for so many years. Let us think of what peace and stability will do for Mozambique and for that entire important subregion of Africa.

Mr. CARDENAS (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The resolution the Security Council has just adopted - with my delegation voting in favour - authorizing the establishment of a police component as an integral part of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), emphasizes the United Nations commitment to Mozambique.

The Secretary-General's comprehensive report shows that there has been substantial progress in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement. While we appreciate what the parties have done to bring about that progress, we continue to be concerned over repeated delays in the process, especially as regards the cantonment, disarming and demobilization of troops, and the creation of a new national defence force. We are also gravely concerned over the difficulties and complexities of disbanding the militia and the paramilitary forces that are scattered throughout the country.

We urge the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO to comply with all the provisions of the General Peace Agreement without further delay. We remind them that the ultimate responsibility for the success of the process lies with the people of Mozambique. The international community is prepared to continue to help the people of Mozambique in its efforts, but it must be clear that such

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

assistance, including that of ONUMOZ, cannot replace a negotiated solution to the conflict, which is indispensable.

With regard to the Organization's current financial difficulties in the area of peace-keeping operations, the parties must be more than ever aware of the need to respect the timetable with a view to holding elections next October.

Finally, we urge the international community to continue supporting the full implementation of the General Peace Agreement, thus bringing about political normalization in Mozambique.

Mr. LOZINSKIY (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation supported the resolution just adopted, which, inter alia, authorizes the establishment of a police component as an additional part of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), because it sends a clear signal to the parties in Mozambique concerning the need to accelerate the peace process and because it moves them in the direction of free and fair elections to be held before the end of October 1994.

The resolution shows that the Council considers it important that, as far as possible, the deployment of the police contingent and the drawdown of the appropriate number of military personnel should go hand in hand, ensuring stability in Mozambique, and that this should result in no increase in the overall cost of ONUMOZ.

We consider that the decision to deploy a police contingent will make it possible to strengthen trust among the parties and to create propitious conditions for successful elections. At the same time, it is clear that much remains to be done to implement the General Peace Agreement. In that context, we consider it of particular importance that both parties scrupulously and promptly implement the provisions of the Agreement and respect in good faith the revised timetable for the disarmament and demobilization

(Mr. Lozinskiy, Russian Federation)

process, for the establishment of a national defence force and for preparations for the pre-election campaign to enable the elections to be held in a truly democratic and civilized way.

We hope that both parties in Mozambique will make effective use of the possibilities afforded them by the international community and will make every effort to complete successfully the political-settlement process with a view to ensuring peace, stability and the rebirth of the country.

Mr. KOVANDA (Czech Republic): The Czech delegation voted in favour of today's resolution because it reflects well our views on the developments in Mozambique. The Czech Republic and Mozambique have a long tradition of friendly relations; in fact, even as we speak, Czech military observers are participating in the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). We are therefore particularly happy to have what we consider a good, well-balanced resolution.

It is appropriate at this point to express our appreciation for the Secretary-General's report and for all the effort that went into it. One cannot, however, ignore the important points made by my colleague the Permanent Representative of Mozambique, and we will want to analyze them very carefully. We will also want to reflect on whether the work of the Council could have been further improved had we had some of that information at our disposal earlier.

The fact that it took us some two weeks of work to finalize the text of the resolution indicates that the situation is being closely watched by the international community, and that it is perceived as controversial. Most troublesome, in our opinion, is

(Mr. Kovanda, Czech Republic)

the backsliding in the originally envisaged schedule for the peace process - backsliding which now amounts to just about an entire year.

The adoption of the Electoral Law; the first steps in disarmament and demobilization and the subsequent improvement in the security and political situation of the country; the process of transforming RENAMO into a political party; and, in particular, the continuing dialogue between RENAMO and the Government: all these amount to hopeful signs that the Mozambique peace process might successfully culminate in democratic elections this coming October. We eagerly anticipate the setting of a specific date for these elections.

Progress in fulfilling the General Peace Agreement opens up an opportunity for a phased drawdown in the military component of ONUMOZ, with some possible reduction of costs - without prejudice, however, to the effective discharge of the ONUMOZ mandate. In our opinion, the emplacement of police observers and units will sufficiently guarantee that the peace process continues.

We cannot fail, however, to express our concern over the slow progress in demobilization, even though we recognize some acceleration in the past couple of weeks. We are also concerned by delays in creating and training a new national defence force, which in turn might jeopardize the timing of the elections, not to speak of increasing the cost of the Operation.

It bears reiterating that the United Nations stands ready to help those who will help themselves. In fact, it can hardly help anyone else. Only when the people of a country and their political leaders are prepared to assume the primary responsibility for their own future can the United Nations be of any use. We are delighted that, for Mozambique, today's resolution makes this point as well,

(Mr. Kovanda, Czech Republic)

and we trust that, despite the obstacles and difficulties, developments in Mozambique will fulfil the promise of turning this process into a success story.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Djibouti.

My delegation welcomes the latest report of the Secretary-General regarding the situation in Mozambique for its detail and comprehensiveness and for the manner in which it conveys an excellent feel for the import of developments. Much of this is reflected in the resolution just adopted, which my delegation fully supported.

To a considerable extent, there are things to be pleased with in the current situation as reflected in the report. The general restraint of both parties, as evidenced by the absence of serious cease-fire violations, and their initiative to fill the void, prior to United Nations deployment, with their own programme of joint monitoring of police activities and the observance of respect for civil rights, are commendable. We are also encouraged by the many meetings between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama in Maputo, where Mr. Dhlakama has transferred his residence to facilitate this process.

However, while there is a fortunate window of opportunity for Mozambique to put its house in order, this situation is unlikely to continue indefinitely. It is therefore imperative that we move with consummate speed to realize those activities and meet those deadlines necessary to utilize this period. To meet the timetables set for the installation of a government duly elected by the people under the recently approved election law, a number of things remain to be done in an expeditious and timely manner. Electoral registration and other electoral preparations must commence

(The President)

immediately, and an election date must be set. The resolution states a desire to see an elected government by October this year, which is really very close.

Additionally, the whole election process needs to take place in an atmosphere of balanced, actual demobilization, enhanced disarmament, evidenced by the surrender of weapons and their transfer to designated depots, and the formation of a suitable national defence. Although there has been a spirit of cooperation, the display of transparency, cooperation and action must be sustained and augmented if we are to resolve these problems effectively.

We are pleased by the desire of all parties in Mozambique for a continued United Nations presence, and are especially encouraged by the fact that this desire, coupled with the virtual cessation of armed hostilities, will allow the United Nations to play a classic peace-keeping role. The anticipated phased reduction of the military component of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and the creation of a police component bear careful planning and consideration. The observation, monitoring, reporting and technical-assistance duties of the United Nations in the coming elections, in conjunction with the police component authorized by the resolution, would permit the United Nations to provide very useful input in the reconciliation process.

My delegation still has some concern over issues also noted in the resolution and in the Secretary-General's report. There can be little question that the response of the international community to the targeted needs of Mozambique has been commendable. Still, we can only hope this demonstration of good will will not slacken as we approach the final chapter of our involvement. The economic and financial impact of an attractive new army, of the rehabilitation

(The President)

and return of refugees and demobilized militia, of demining and of the conversion of RENAMO into a political entity or party would all more than overwhelm the economic resources of the Government.

We therefore hope that international contributions will continue, for the end result will be far less expensive to us than a breakdown in progress. We wholeheartedly agree with the resolution's call in this regard for the Secretary-General to be mindful of the level of expenditures and the not unlimited resources of the United Nations. However, this may well call for a judicious balance between short-term costs and savings and long-term total costs, a situation which returned to haunt the United Nations in Angola.

Finally, my delegation is also pleased at the way in which humanitarian assistance has been able to reach parties in need, and urges its facilitation by all parties for unimpeded access to civilians.

We are all locked in a crucial dash to the finish with the people of Mozambique. We believe everyone realizes that serious and continued displays of genuine good will and effort will be reciprocated, and that is the experience we all need. The General Peace Agreement provides the framework needed to set Mozambique back on its feet in a timely manner, with the compliance and support of both parties. But there is a clear need for an accelerated pace of action and results.

In this context, my delegation is deeply appreciative of the extensive information provided to the Council this morning by the representative of Mozambique. We are indeed thankful to him, and we shall seriously ponder over its ramifications.

(The President)

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3339
25 February 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 25 February 1994, at 12.50 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. OLHAYE	(Djibouti)
<u>Members:</u>	Argentina Brazil China Czech Republic France New Zealand Nigeria Oman Pakistan Russian Federation Rwanda Spain United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland United States of America	Mr. CARDENAS Mr. SARDENBERG Mr. LI Zhaoxing Mr. KOVANDA Mr. LADSOUS Mr. McKINNON Mr. AYEWAH Mr. AL-KHUSSAIBY Mr. MARKER Mr. SIDOROV Mr. BIZIMANA Mr. ZULUETA Mr. WOOD Mr. GREY

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The meeting was called to order at 12.50 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA

SECOND PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA (S/1994/168 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Benin and Liberia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bull (Liberia) and Mr. Mongbe (Benin) took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, documents S/1994/168 and S/1994/168/Add.1.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/187, which contains the text of a letter dated 16 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Liberia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

(The President)

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council takes note of the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Liberia (S/1994/168 and Add.1).

"The Council welcomes the agreement reached at Monrovia contained in the 15 February communiqué (S/1994/187, annex) in which the parties once again reaffirmed their commitment to the Cotonou Agreement as the basis for a lasting political settlement to the Liberian conflict. The Council calls upon the parties to uphold strictly the timetable outlined in that communiqué: the commencement of disarmament and the installation of a transitional government on 7 March, and the holding of free and fair general elections on 7 September 1994. The Council urges the parties to resolve quickly their differences on the disposition of the four remaining Cabinet posts.

"The Council, however, wishes to express its concern about the recent upsurge in violence in Liberia and the related disruption of humanitarian relief shipments, to which the rise of new military groups and problems of military indiscipline among the existing factions have contributed. It deplores the consequent loss of lives, destruction of property and the increased number of people that have since been displaced. The Council calls on all Liberian parties to adhere strictly to the cease-fire agreement and to cooperate fully with the international relief efforts in order to put an end to the

(The President)

obstacles periodically impeding the delivery of humanitarian aid.

"The Council is gravely concerned at the delays in implementing the commitments entered into by the parties under the Cotonou Agreement, in particular the commencement of disarmament and the installation of the Liberian National Transitional Government.

"The Council reminds the parties that they themselves bear ultimate responsibility for the successful implementation of the Cotonou Agreement. The Liberian parties should bear in mind that the support of the international community and of the Security Council will not continue in the absence of tangible progress towards full and prompt implementation of the Agreement, in particular, the revised timetable. These delays jeopardize both the viability of the Cotonou Agreement itself and the ability of UNOMIL to fulfil its mandate.

"The Council looks forward to the proposed meeting of ECOWAS Foreign Ministers in March and to continued progress on the ground. The Council underlines the importance of adhering to the timetable and will review the situation again in March to evaluate what progress has been made.

"The Council underlines the importance of disarmament to the successful implementation of the Agreement and in this context notes the central role in the disarmament process given to ECOMOG under the Cotonou Agreement.

"The Council, therefore, takes note of the Secretary-General's observation that the ECOMOG forces face considerable financial and logistical difficulties and strongly supports his call on Member States to assist the peace process by

(The President)

providing the necessary financial and logistical resources to ECOMOG to enable it to meet its obligations under the Cotonou Agreement. The Council supports the Secretary-General's appeal to all Member States which have not already done so to contribute generously to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia. The Council concurs with the Secretary-General that UNOMIL's ability to carry out its mandate depends on the capacity of ECOMOG to discharge its responsibilities.

"The Council commends ECOWAS and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for their continued efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia. The Council notes with appreciation that the ECOMOG force has now been expanded pursuant to resolution 866 (1993) and commends all countries which have contributed troops and resources to ECOMOG since its inception in 1990.

"The Council commends also the efforts of Member States and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the Liberian civil war. The anticipated reunification of the country by 7 March 1994 and the ensuing repatriation of Liberian refugees will accelerate the demand for additional humanitarian relief, and in this regard, the Council urgently appeals to Member States and humanitarian organizations to increase their assistance to Liberia.

"The Council reaffirms its appreciation for the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative towards the establishment of a lasting peace in Liberia."

(The President)

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/9.

Before I adjourn the meeting, I should like to inform members that I will convene informal consultations at 3.30 this afternoon in order to discuss the situation in the occupied Arab territories and the draft resolution on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3340
28 February 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND THREE HUNDRED AND FORTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 28 February 1994, at 9 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. OLHAYE	(Djibouti)
<u>Members:</u>	Argentina	Mr. ZAWELS
	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. KOVANDA
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	New Zealand	Mr. van BOHEMEN
	Nigeria	Mr. AYEWAH
	Oman	Mr. AL-KHUSSAIBY
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. LOZINSKIY
	Rwanda	Mr. BIZIMANA
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-794, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 9 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 25 FEBRUARY 1994 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF EGYPT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/1994/222)

LETTER DATED 25 FEBRUARY 1994 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/1994/223)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Egypt, Greece, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Qatar, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Yaacobi (Israel) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan), Mr. Lamamra (Algeria), Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Exarchos (Greece), Mr. Nasier (Indonesia), Mr. Khoshroo (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Bataineh (Jordan), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Makkawi (Lebanon), Mr. Elhouderi (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Al-Ni'mah (Qatar), Mr. Yassin (Sudan), Mr. Awad (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia), Mr. Batu (Turkey) and Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 26 February 1994 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, which will be issued as document S/1994/232 and reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that, in accordance with its previous practice, the Security Council invite Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, to participate in the current debate of the Security Council with regard to the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory."

I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to participate in the current debate in accordance with the rules of procedure and the previous practice in this regard.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 26 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations which reads as follows:

(The President)

"In Pakistan's capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, I have the honour to request you kindly to allow the Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations in New York to address the Security Council in the debate on "The situation in the occupied Arab territories."

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1994/227.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to His Excellency Mr. Ansay.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in response to the requests contained in the letters dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1994/222, and the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1994/223.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/1994/214, containing the text of identical letters dated 25 February 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council; S/1994/218, letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1994/220, letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise

(The President)

of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 28 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a resolution adopted by the League of Arab States on 27 February 1994. This letter and its enclosure will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1994/233.

The first speaker is the Permanent Observer of Palestine, on whom I now call.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine) (interpretation from Arabic):
Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, during these final hours of February, to extend to you my warm congratulations on your stewardship of the Security Council. We are pleased to see the representative of Djibouti, a fraternal Arab country, presiding over our very important meeting.

Allow me also, Mr. President, to take this opportunity to convey our congratulations to the new members of the Security Council: Argentina, the Czech Republic, Nigeria, Oman and Rwanda. We wish them every success in their work in the Council.

We are pleased that the Council has unanimously agreed to allow the Permanent Observer of Palestine to participate in the work of the Council, without the right to vote. We appreciate the positive change in the American position in this regard; we attribute it to the new political climate now generally prevailing in the Middle East region.

At the same time, we regret the Council's delay in taking decisive measures with respect to this very important question that has been before it since Friday last. While very much appreciating

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

your having called this formal meeting of the Council,
Mr. President, we stress the need for the Council to act quickly.

Last Friday, at dawn, local time, yet another abominable massacre was perpetrated against our people in the occupied Palestinian territory: it was the ~~the~~ most heinous massacre in our history since Israel's occupation of our territory began in 1967. It is perhaps difficult to imagine anything worse, because this crime was committed during the holy month of Ramadan, in the city of Hebron, the site of the tomb of Abraham - in a holy place, in a place of worship, in the Ibrahimi mosque, while worshippers were saying the dawn prayer, bowing down before God.

Fire was opened on them indiscriminately, killing many faithful. More than 50 martyrs fell, and more than 200 people were wounded.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

This abominable massacre was committed by elements introduced into Palestinian territory in flagrant violation of international law, in particular the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and a number of Security Council resolutions. The cause of this act is the policy pursued up to this very day by successive Israeli Governments in connection with the establishment of settlements.

The settlers have been heavily armed. Israel and its occupying forces have carried out all kinds of illegal practices, not in keeping with law or logic. What has taken place must be understood in that context: it is a result of the campaign of illegitimate Israeli settlements and the climate this has created, and not an isolated act, regardless of the numbers involved in the commission of the crime. In any event, we remain convinced - and all the evidence points in this direction - that the massacre was committed by several persons, including the main perpetrator, who, unfortunately, had arrived in the occupied territories from the United States of America.

What has made the situation more serious is that the Israeli army, after the massacre had been committed, and faced with the legitimate outrage of Palestinians, shot at them in the cruel manner that we all witnessed on our television screens. This resulted in the death of 10 Palestinians and the wounding of some hundred others, in the vicinity of the Mosque of Abraham and throughout the occupied territories, including Jerusalem. These incidents are continuing, causing more victims among the Palestinian people each and every day.

The situation is very dangerous and continues to deteriorate daily. It therefore requires urgent and decisive action on the part of the international community, represented by the Security

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

Council, as well as on the part of Israel, the occupying Power. International law, justice and the natural duty of the Security Council require such action. Urgent action is called for also in order to save the peace process, which is currently under way.

We thank the international community for its condemnation of this crime, this massacre. On behalf of the Palestinian people, we thank all those who have expressed condolences to and solidarity with our people, in particular the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. We also acknowledge with heartfelt sentiments the initiatives taken by several parties, in particular by President Clinton, to ensure that the peace process continues and yields results. We believe that the measures I have referred to are required in order to convince our suffering Palestinian people that the parties are acting in good faith and that they understand the Palestinians' concerns, in order to convince them that the peace process is credible. In this context, we believe that the Security Council should rapidly adopt a new resolution in which it would strongly condemn this massacre perpetrated against our people and would assume its responsibility for the protection of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, in accordance with previous resolutions adopted by the Security Council, in particular resolution 681 (1990).

I turn now to the measures we are calling on the Israeli party to take. First, we must reaffirm that Israel and the Government of Israel are responsible for what has taken place, given the fact that the Israeli army is usually present in considerable strength in the area of the Mosque of Abraham and did nothing to prevent what took place; indeed, it could be said that it even participated in the act. Israel's responsibility in this matter results from the official policy adopted regarding settlements in general. What

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

we ask today of the Israeli Government is that it adopt a number of measures reflecting a real change in its policy regarding settlements. The settlers must be disarmed, all the settlements must be dismantled and the activities of the settlers in all the occupied territories, including Jerusalem must finally cease; it is not a question of merely limiting or reducing the number of settlements. We also ask that the settlers be immediately offered the possibility of leaving the territories quickly, after receiving compensation from the Government of Israel.

Furthermore, in the framework of the Declaration of Principles signed in Washington on 13 September 1993, the pace of the negotiations on the settlements must be speeded up, in accordance with certain priorities, in order to defuse the explosive situation which exists as a result of the existence of these illegal settlements. We therefore call for a new policy that will respond to the dangerous situation and will take seriously into account the question of the settlements and, hence, the question of peace in general.

Unfortunately, this is not the first time that we find ourselves here in the Security Council as a result of a massacre committed against the Palestinian people, with all the suffering this entails. But we hope that this will be the last time. It all depends on the international community.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Permanent Observer of Palestine for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Egypt, who is also the Chairman of the Arab Group for the month of February. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ELARABY (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me to express our sincere appreciation, Sir, for your strenuous efforts during this month.

The Security Council is meeting today to discuss a serious development in the occupied Arab territories, a development unprecedented since the Israeli occupation began. Dozens of innocent people fell victim to a criminal attack on Palestinians at prayer in the Ibrahimi mosque during the holy month of Ramadan, a month that is sacred for all Muslims the world over.

There has been international unanimity in condemning this abominable crime and in calling for the imposition of the severest penalties on its perpetrators. Meeting in extraordinary session yesterday, the Council of the League of Arab States adopted a resolution. As Chairman of the Arab Group this month, I would like to quote some of the paragraphs of the resolution, which the Arab Group has requested should be distributed, as document S/1994/233.

The Council of the League of Arab States decided:

"1. To condemn the Israeli crime against the defenceless Palestinian citizens at prayer in the Ibrahimi Mosque ...;

"2. To place upon the Israeli occupation authorities the responsibility for this crime and the crimes committed by Israeli settlers by reason of the continuing practices and measures adopted by those authorities; and to call upon them to disarm the Israeli settlers immediately;

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

"3. To ... call [upon] the United Nations to establish an appropriate mechanism for the implementation of the fourth Geneva Convention through the assignment of an international force to provide protection to Arab citizens in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, with a view to the implementation of the provisions of Security Council resolution 681 (1990); and to call upon the co-sponsors of the Madrid Conference to play a major role in ensuring the necessary protection for the Palestinian people in the occupied territories;

"4. To call upon the Security Council to send an international commission to investigate the grave incident and to take the necessary measures to enable the commission to carry out its mandate;

"5. [To call] upon the Security Council, in particular the two co-sponsors of the Peace Conference, for the immediate implementation of the Security Council resolutions ruling the Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories illegitimate and a serious obstacle to the achievement of a comprehensive and just peace, in particular Security Council resolution 465 (1980) concerning the dismantling of existing settlements and a halt to planning for new settlements in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem;

"6. To call upon the co-sponsors of the Conference to make a serious endeavour to ensure the success of efforts for peace by halting Israeli procrastination, putting an end to the occupation of Arab territories, and enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable national rights, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of its independent State with Jerusalem as its capital".

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

This massacre requires all parties willing to establish a comprehensive, just and permanent peace in the Middle East to face important issues - issues that should also be faced immediately by the international community. Otherwise, the possibilities for establishing peace and stability in the region will be negatively affected.

First, full attention should be given to providing protection for the Palestinian people until it achieves its complete independence through the peace process, and to reaffirming that the Government of Israel, as the occupying authority, is fully responsible for providing protection for Palestinians in the occupied territories until the occupation is over, in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War. Regrettably, instead of protecting them from a recurrence of similar attacks and taking the steps necessary to disarm the settlers and guarantee that they will not commit similar attacks against innocent Palestinians, the Israeli security authorities have reacted in a manner that has led to the death of dozens more Palestinians. The Israeli authorities have failed so far to adequately fulfil their responsibilities.

International protection has therefore become urgently necessary. The international community should consider playing a positive role through the United Nations. This should include implementing the provisions of Security Council resolution 681 (1990) regarding the application of the Fourth Geneva Convention. In this regard I would like to express our sincere thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General for all his efforts and constructive initiatives in support of the contents of that

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

resolution and other resolutions adopted by the United Nations
regarding this matter.

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

Secondly, that shameful massacre proves anew what Egypt has repeatedly stated: that it is not only the Israeli side in the peace negotiations that has security requirements. Similar attention should be paid to the security requirements of the Palestinian people, particularly during the coming period. There is no doubt that the massacre that took place a few days ago is a loud warning that should spur the parties to cooperate in order to guarantee that such a crime will not be repeated.

Thirdly, no party interested in the establishment of peace in the Middle East should allow a biased, extremist minority to impose its will on the overwhelming majority that aspires to put an end to the aggression and to the shedding of innocent blood. The parties to the peace negotiations, particularly in Israel, should not listen to those calling for expansion or to the advocates of hatred and religious lunacy. We are confident that the speedy achievement of an Israeli-Palestinian agreement on the implementation of the Declaration of Principles signed by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) could be a first step, to be followed by other courageous steps by both parties, thus proving their ability to coexist peacefully.

Fourthly, the international community should convey to the children of the Palestinian people a clear message of solidarity, reaffirming that their future within the peace process will not be fraught with the danger of similar massacres, but, rather, that they will witness positive results from the peace process and that individual States, the United Nations and other international organizations will give them every possible assistance in all areas, including their security.

I should like to reaffirm, on behalf of the Government and the people of the Arab Republic of Egypt, our condemnation of that

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

abominable massacre. His Excellency President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak has expressed his extreme concern over and condemnation of the atrocities committed at the Ibrahimi Mosque. He is following the details and the developments of the situation and is making contacts at the level of the United Nations and in various world capitals. He has issued instructions in support of the holding of a Security Council meeting and in support of taking the necessary measures to protect the Palestinians and their security, in order to avoid a recurrence of such an atrocity and to prevent the settlers from intimidating and threatening Palestinian citizens. All those steps should be considered in the current negotiations regarding the Palestinian-Israeli agreement, which is aimed essentially at the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, its territory and its security.

In that regard, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt has issued a declaration reaffirming the need to stand up to the scourge of extremism that has afflicted various societies with different religions, political orientations and creeds, and stating that this incident reaffirms the importance of preserving Palestinian security, and not just Israeli security. The security requirements are not Israel's alone.

There is no doubt that this incident reaffirms that the fate of Jerusalem should not be left to the extremists, criminals or lunatics. The blood of innocent victims shed in this massacre should not be in vain. We hope this painful incident will mark a comprehensive beginning in facing up to the extremist lunatics and putting an end to their crimes. We hope that speedy and far-reaching progress in the peace process will be an effective guarantee that such crimes will not be repeated. We also hope that the Security Council will unanimously adopt a resolution condemning

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

this abominable atrocity and reaffirming the need to provide stability and security for the Palestinian people until the occupation is over.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Egypt for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Israel, on whom I now call.

Mr. YAACOBI (Israel): At the outset, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I have no doubt that your wealth of diplomatic experience and personal skills will be invaluable in your conduct of the affairs of the Council. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Karel Kovanda, on the very able manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council.

Israel regrets and condemns the criminal murder of Palestinian worshippers in Hebron. We express our sincerest condolences to the families of those killed, and we wish all those wounded a speedy and complete recovery.

In an appeal to Israelis and Palestinians alike, the President of the State of Israel, Ezer Weizman, has said:

"At this difficult time, I call upon all the people of this land - leaders, clergy, Jews and Arabs, Christians and Muslims - to grieve together over every needless loss of life."

Our Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, spoke by telephone with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. Prime Minister Rabin conveyed the sorrow of the Israeli Government and people to Chairman Arafat and to the Palestinian people. He said:

"As an Israeli, I am ashamed of this deranged, brutal act."

(Mr. Yaacobi, Israel)

I join the Prime Minister in this sentiment, as do the overwhelming majority of Israelis.

Both Chief Rabbis of Israel have condemned the massacre. The Sephardi Chief Rabbi, Eliahu Bakshi Doron, said:

"I am simply ashamed that a Jew carried out such a villainous and irresponsible act, and I am distressed that it is viewed as the act of a religious person."

Chief Ashkenazi Rabbi Yisrael Meir Lau said:

"The attacker did not act in the name of the Jewish faith.... It is a desecration of God's name to connect faith to this incident."

The fanatic individual - and I repeat, individual - who committed the violence sought not only to kill people, but also to kill the chances for peace between Israelis and Palestinians. Extremists on both sides believe that they can derail the peace process by creating a vicious circle of violence and bloodshed.

They are wrong. We believe that all sides know that we have passed the point of no return on our way to a new era of peace, security and cooperation. Difficulties will arise. Obstacles will have to be overcome. We were all reminded of this sad truth by the latest events. But the only way to put an end to the violence is through peace and reconciliation. There simply is no alternative. We all have a responsibility to the future not to walk away from the historic opportunity which stands before us.

(Mr. Yaacobi, Israel)

For that reason, it is imperative that all people, Arabs and Jews alike, act with the utmost restraint, despite the sorrow, the grief and the anger.

Israelis, of all people, understand the pain of losing innocent lives. It is with this understanding that we call for restraint. We, the Israeli people, have faced decades of violence by fanatic Palestinians and others. We have mourned hundreds of Israelis killed in terrorist acts.

I do not wish to specify those attacks; I should like simply to mention that, since the signing of the Declaration of Principles on 13 September 1993, 33 Israelis have been killed in terrorist attacks by militants, in Israel and in the territories, and 213 have been wounded. Those acts were committed not only by individuals, but also by organized terrorist groups. Despite this, we never lost hope for peace; we never came to the conclusion that those acts were justifications to abandon the search for reconciliation between our peoples.

Some Palestinian and Arab leaders have said that they want Israel to change its policies. This was also said here in the Security Council by the two previous speakers. Allow me to call attention to some relevant facts on this matter.

Following the formation of the present Government, on 13 July 1992, Israel made far-reaching changes in its order of national priorities: The Government of Israel stopped construction of new settlements in the territories; we reallocated resources away from the territories and into Israel; the Government of Israel decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and to commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process; Israel signed the Declaration of

(Mr. Yaacobi, Israel)

Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, with the PLO, on 13 September 1993; we announced our readiness to negotiate, without preconditions, a permanent settlement with the Palestinians by no later than the third year of the interim period; and we announced our readiness to negotiate a peace treaty with Syria on the basis of territorial compromise.

At two meetings, held on 25 and 27 February, the Cabinet discussed the massacre in Hebron and authorized a number of steps:

First, a Commission of Inquiry headed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Israel has been established to fully investigate the massacre.

Secondly, a series of measures has been taken against radical elements among the Israeli residents of the territories. These measures include the imposition of administrative detentions, the extension of restraining orders and supervisory orders against the entry of certain persons into the territories and especially into the Hebron area, and the disarming of specific individuals and the cancellation of their permits to carry weapons.

Thirdly, the Attorney General will explore and propose options for outlawing the radical organizations "Kach" and "Kahane Chai".

Fourthly, the Government has decided to release up to 1,000 Palestinian detainees and prisoners within the coming week.

Fifthly, new security and prayer arrangements will be made for the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron. The site will be reopened when these new arrangements are made.

Sixthly, the Government will provide compensation to the families of the victims.

Unfortunately, some Palestinian leaders have called the Government's decisions "empty, hollow and superficial". This is

(Mr. Yaacobi, Israel)

very regrettable. I want to stress here that the Government of Israel is fully committed to doing its utmost to protect Arabs and Jews alike. Measures are being taken to halt the activities of all radical elements which are a source of incitement in the territories.

The Israel Defence Forces will continue to do all they can to maintain public order and to prevent further incidents and bloodshed. Once the implementation of the Israeli-Palestinian agreement begins, the Palestinian police will take its part in ensuring security.

We believe that the only sincere solution to the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is to enhance the implementation of the agreement between Israel and the PLO. We all have to focus on accelerating the progress towards peace.

As Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said, "peace is the true answer to the hate-mongers and the sowers of grief".

Faithful and speedy implementation of the agreement on interim self-government arrangements will frustrate the plans of extremists and swell the ranks of those who believe that Israelis and Palestinians can and should live in peace, dignity and mutual respect.

The Security Council has a responsibility to support these proponents of peace by calling for accelerated progress towards implementing the Israeli-Palestinian agreement.

I will conclude with these words, delivered by Prime Minister Rabin to Israel's Knesset today:

"I say to the Palestinians ... we understand your feelings, and suffer this terrible tragedy together with you. We identify with the heavy sorrow, the distress and the tears,

(Mr. Yaacobi, Israel)

and we know that, even when peace comes, both you and we will bear the scars of war.

"We call upon you to return to the negotiating table, to resume the talks. We shall sit down and continue the negotiations. For after the blood, after the tears, that which we have so long sought and dreamed about may lie waiting in the near future: to put an end to 100 years of war and terrorism, and to begin to exist, to begin to live, like all nations."

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Israel for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Pakistan, who is also Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference group in New York.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): The people and the Government of Pakistan have been profoundly shocked at the massacre on Friday, 25 February 1994, in the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi mosque in the town of Al-Khalil, which resulted in the deaths of a very large number of innocent civilian Palestinians as well as in serious injuries to several hundred others.

The Government of Pakistan strongly condemns this cowardly act of terrorism against people who were fasting and offering their morning prayers during the holy month of Ramadan.

On behalf of the people and the Government of Pakistan, I convey our deepest sympathies to the bereaved families and to the people of Palestine.

Pakistan joins in the expressions of outrage and condemnation by the international community at this cold-blooded and wanton attack directed against the people of Palestine. We strongly urge

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

that the individuals behind this criminal act be brought to justice.

The widespread spontaneous disturbances which took place in the occupied Palestinian territories in the wake of the 25 February 2massacre were a natural consequence, and have served to compound the tragedy.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

We are therefore deeply concerned at the violent suppression of Palestinian demonstrations by the Israeli forces, thus leading to the deaths of many more Palestinians. This cyclical wave of killings can only be prevented if the Israeli authorities assume their responsibility with statesmanship and a sense of realism, and take measures which would restore some semblance of confidence to the Palestinians living in the occupied territories.

We also call on the Government of Israel to put an immediate end to the repressive measures against the people of Palestine and to take the necessary steps to ensure the safety and protection of the Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian territories, in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949.

In another cruel travesty of justice, while the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories are prohibited from acquiring any arms whatsoever, the Israeli settlers enjoy legal sanction to possess and bear even sophisticated automatic weapons. If the Israeli leaders are genuinely serious in their criticism of this tragic event and would want to prevent similar tragedies in the future, then they should adopt suitable measures to stop the illegal actions of Israeli settlers and to disarm them.

The outrageous action of 25 February serves to underscore with even greater force the urgent need for a just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict. Pakistan had welcomed the 13 September 1993 Declaration of Principles between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel as a first step towards a comprehensive settlement based on the principle of land for peace and on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). It was our hope that this initial accord would constitute a sound foundation for a durable peace in the Middle East region. At the time, we had urged the speedy implementation of the Palestine

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

Liberation Organization-Israeli agreement, both in letter and in spirit.

The massacre at the Al-Ibrahimi Mosque underlines the need for quickening the pace towards an early agreement on the full implementation of the Declaration of Principles. Procrastination can cause irreversible harm to the peace process. We urge the parties concerned, in particular Israel, to demonstrate the requisite flexibility and accommodation. The vision of a better tomorrow must not be allowed to succumb to the divisions and hatreds of the past. It is only through a just peace that the peoples of this war-ravaged region will be able to freely pursue their basic human right to a life of well-being and prosperity.

In this connection, my delegation would wish to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his deep commitment, courageous actions and indefatigable efforts for the cause of peace in the region.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Tunisia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ABDELLAH (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): It is with horror that the entire world heard the news on Friday morning of the abominable killing perpetrated by Israeli settlers at the Mosque of Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi in the town of Al-Khalil.

In the face of the barbarity and the premeditated nature of this carnage, which is unprecedented in the painful history of Israeli occupation, an outraged international public expressed its anger and indignation.

In these tragic circumstances, Tunisia shares the mourning of the Palestinian people, who continue to suffer daily martyrdom and to shed tears over the death of their sons.

(Mr. Abdellah, Tunisia)

It most emphatically condemns this abominable crime, which was perpetrated at a holy site, during a holy month and on a day which too was holy.

An impartial inquiry should establish all those responsible for this killing, which cannot be attributed to one single murderer. Indeed, the Israeli soldiers responsible for protecting the holy shrine must also assume their share of the blame, inasmuch as, at the very least, they let it happen without intervening to protect the lives of the worshippers. Furthermore, the Israeli army attacked the people, who were demonstrating their feelings of desolation and consternation, by killing other Palestinians, thus adding to the number of victims.

By allowing the settlers to arm themselves to the teeth, to freely patrol the roads and to act with total impunity, the Israeli Government has encouraged them to establish the law of the jungle. Disarming all the settlers - and not just a handful of them, as was announced - ought to be the first measure undertaken in order to protect the Palestinian citizens. This is, in fact, the prime obligation of the occupying Power, in conformity with the Fourth Geneva Convention.

An international presence is needed more than ever to protect the lives of civilians and to neutralize Israeli extremists, who seek to perpetuate their domination over Palestinian territory and to undermine the peace process.

Only the dismantling of the settlements established in the occupied territories, in violation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and more particularly of resolution 465 (1980), could avoid the repetition of serious incidents caused by Jewish activists.

(Mr. Abdellah, Tunisia)

The implementation of resolution 681 (1990), which emphasizes the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, is becoming an increasingly urgent necessity if international law is to prevail and if the protection of civilians is to be guaranteed against demands and acts of terrorism.

The delay in the entry into force of the Declaration of 13 September has only strengthened the determination of the Israeli extremists to torpedo the peace efforts in order to create war and chaos in the region.

In any event, we need to make up for lost time and to ensure the immediate implementation of the provisions of the Washington agreement, most particularly regarding the withdrawal of the Israeli forces. Disarming the settlers, pending the dismantling of the settlements, is a determining factor in the success of this agreement, which represents the first stage towards a solution of the Palestinian problem.

Tunisia, which, in its own history of decolonization, experienced similar moments when extremists tried in vain to obstruct the course of history, feels confident that thanks to the firmness that will be displayed by the international community and the determination of the Palestinian people, Friday morning's massacre will only hasten the moment of liberation.

President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and the Tunisian Government, for their part, will continue to undertake every effort to help bring about a just and lasting peace in the region.

The international community is called upon today to assume its responsibilities towards the Palestinians who have suffered repression and been the victims of the most odious crimes. The Security Council, during this delicate phase of the peace process,

(Mr. Abdellah, Tunisia

must play its full role by reminding the occupying Power of its obligations, by providing concrete measures for the protection of Palestinian civilians and by ensuring that the peace process is brought to fruition.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Jordan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BATAINEH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me, Sir, to congratulate you once more on your successful presidency of the Security Council this month. On behalf of my delegation, I thank you for your efforts at all levels to resolve the issues that have been discussed this month, particularly the issue before us today.

My delegation's thanks go also to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for the sincere and continuing efforts he has made in this regard.

This incident was a serious and unforeseen one that could have political repercussions: it was a terrorist massacre, perpetrated in a shrine that should have been kept safe for all the civilians praying there during this, their holy month. The crime was committed by extremist settlers implanted by the Israeli authorities, which provided them with land and weapons so that they might serve as a cordon sanitaire around civilian Palestinian communities; they were then given freedom of movement so that all the elements could come together for such a massacre to be perpetrated.

The Israeli authorities are also determined to deny the Palestinian people not only the right to security and safety but the right to freedom of worship; and even the right to exist within its own homeland.

We are determined to put this terrorist massacre in its true context, for it was inevitable: the result of the "arrangements" that have been perpetrated by Israel in violation of international law and the decisions of this Council. For this - belated -

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meeting, and for the Council's discussions to be serious, productive and effective, the Council should not content itself with well-deserved condemnations or condolences; rather, it should go further and meet its responsibilities face on: it should put a final end to massacres of this sort and to all of Israel's oppressive practices and continued violations of human rights against Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories.

First of all, it behoves the Council, as a matter of urgency, to despatch a commission of inquiry to investigate this most serious massacre and to take the necessary steps to ensure the commission's ability to carry out its work successfully and report back to the Council.

In short, we believe that the Council, if it seriously wants to examine this massacre and its repercussions, must examine what has occurred in the light of the following considerations.

Firstly, Israel's settlement policy is illegal, as is its policy of arming the settlers. Indeed, should those policies continue, they would not only endanger the safety of the unarmed Palestinians languishing under the yoke of occupation, but would cause chaos and give rise to even greater extremism and fanaticism. There would be no stability anywhere in the region, which, in turn, would lead to the collapse of the peace process. We cannot, therefore, afford to bury our heads in the sand: the success of the Palestinian-Israel negotiations cannot be achieved if we turn a blind eye to massacres and crimes, or if we condone violations of human rights and international law.

What we must do is remove the root causes of these crimes and atrocities, in accordance with international norms and international law, and in the spirit of the moral and human values in which our modern world believes.

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To achieve this, the Council must provide protection for Palestinian civilians. It should be guided by the resolutions that it has adopted over the years concerning the illegality of the Israeli settlements, and particularly by resolution 465 (1980), wherein it determined that Israel's settlement policy constitutes a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This issue of the settlements now falls within the purview of the declaration of principles between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization; it is to be discussed directly by those involved in the negotiations.

However, the issue of disarming all the settlers and safeguarding Palestinian lives should in no way be linked or be subjected to any criteria: the right to life must be protected, legally and morally, at all times, including under occupation, and it is the duty of the Council to safeguard this right without delay.

Secondly, Israel has not abided by the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and does not apply it in the occupied territories. As members are aware, this Convention is the basis of international humanitarian law and is the legal and international guarantee under which the rights and lives of the people in the occupied territories must be safeguarded. It is incumbent on the Council to uphold the application of the Geneva Convention to the territory of Palestine. Indeed, in several unanimous resolutions, the Council has called for the protection of the Palestinian people. Those resolutions - 605 (1987), 681 (1990) and 726 (1992) - are still in force.

The question now is whether the Council is to be held responsible, even indirectly, for what has just taken place and for previous massacres that have been perpetrated against civilians in

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the occupied Palestinian territories. In my view, having failed to force Israel, the occupying Power, to abide by the provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and to apply that Convention to the civilians in the occupied territories, and having failed also to implement its own resolutions on this issue the Council has not lived up to its responsibility to protect the people who are now suffering under the yoke of occupation.

(Mr. Bataineh, Jordan)

The Council is aware that these people are unarmed and face the armed Israeli occupation forces and the armed settlers. The settlers armed themselves for the purpose of terrorizing people and killing civilians, when the Israeli military forces want to hide behind the settlers in committing these disgraceful, cowardly acts.

Therefore, the Security Council is called upon now more than ever before to shoulder its responsibilities and, in accordance with its previous resolutions, to provide an appropriate mechanism for implementing the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention. I wish to call attention to article 1 of that Convention, in which

"The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances."

There are many measures which the Security Council could take, but what is urgently required is only this: to provide effective and constant protection to the Palestinian people so long as they are suffering under occupation - protection that will ensure their safety and security and their basic rights, that will ensure the sanctity of their Holy Places and the discontinuance of all desecration and that will ensure the stability and security of the entire region. The Israeli settlements must be dismantled; indeed, the Security Council itself has stated that they are illegal and should be dismantled.

If we can do all that, we shall create a climate that will enable us to continue the peace process, so that we may finally have a just and honourable settlement of the question based on the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and on the safeguarding of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and to the establishment of a national State on their homeland.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Jordan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is His Excellency Mr. Ahmet Engin Ansay, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, to whom the Security Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ANSAY: We deeply appreciate the tireless efforts you have made, Mr. President, during this entire month in the search for peace. I thank you for giving me the opportunity of addressing the Security Council on a matter of extreme gravity that is of concern to the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his strenuous efforts to bring an end to various international problems facing the world, in particular the question of Palestine and the Middle East. In the presence of several actors on the international scene, all trying to find solutions in their own way to various difficult issues, we believe that with the sagacious guidance of the Secretary-General remedies will most likely be found.

Like probably the rest of the world - except for a few murderous criminals - the Islamic countries and the OIC were shocked and profoundly grieved and indignant when the news was received about the odious carnage that resulted in the martyrdom of over 60 innocent people and the wounding of more than a hundred worshippers who were fasting and offering their morning prayers during the holy month of Ramadan in the Al-Ibrahimi Mosque at

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Al-Khalil in the early hours of Friday, 25 February 1994 - at the hands of bloodthirsty extremist Jewish settlers.

In the declarations and statements issued immediately following this tragedy, the OIC Summit Chairman, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal; the Chairman of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan; the Secretary-General of the OIC, Mr. Hamid Algabid; and the Islamic Group of the Whole, which met at ambassadorial level here in New York, while strongly condemning this perfidious crime against peaceful, innocent worshippers, voiced the OIC's anguish and rage over this barbaric attack and made the following solemn observations and urgent calls.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference expresses its profound grief at the death of these innocent martyrs, extends its heartfelt condolences, and reiterates once again the Islamic Ummah's solidarity with the brave Palestinian people and its full support for them through all possible ways and means in their just struggle until they achieve their inalienable national rights, including their right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of their independent State on their national homeland, with its capital Al-Quds Al-Sharif, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The OIC calls upon the United Nations to continue to play an active role in the current peace process and expresses the hope that it will lead to the early establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The member States of the OIC call for the immediate implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 681 (1990), and they recall that the

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occupying Power has a responsibility to protect the Palestinian people in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention, which is applicable to the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, and the will of the international community as manifested in relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The member States of the OIC also demand an immediate end of the Israeli policies of repression against the Palestinian people.

The OIC calls for effective international protection to be provided to the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and the disarming of the Israeli settlers as a step towards the dismantling of the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, which are illegal according to international legitimacy.

The recent barbaric carnage perpetrated by gangs of settlers against Palestinian citizens constitutes yet another blow dealt to the peace process to which the Palestinian people and their leadership have committed themselves, and casts further doubts on the extent of the other party's earnestness and commitment to the peace process and to the various agreements concluded within its framework, which were welcomed across the world as a first step towards a promising rehabilitation of the whole region.

In conclusion, the OIC once again condemns this heinous crime and appeals to the Security Council to act resolutely. We believe that by adopting a resolution of determination the Council can help all the parties involved in the peace process, but especially can assist Israel to take the required bold measures conducive to achieving an honourable and lasting peace in the region. Otherwise, the thorny settlements issue, involving a few thousand criminal-minded fanatics only, will continue to mortgage the entire

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peace in the area with unfavourable terms for an indefinite time. If this carnage was, as is alleged, the result of an act of a lunatic, then our conclusion is that there are a few thousand more lunatics "Rambo-ing" around freely, brandishing their assault weapons and attacking innocents in a territory to which they have no legitimate claim whatsoever, as has been repeatedly declared by the United Nations during the course of the past 27 years. Israel, the occupying Power should, before anything else, remedy that illegitimate situation.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Ansay for the kind words he addressed to me.

A number of names remain in the list of speakers. In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend to adjourn the meeting now. With the concurrence of the members of the Security Council and after consultations with the President of the Council for the month of March, the next meeting of the Council to continue the consideration of the item on its agenda will take place tomorrow afternoon, Tuesday, 1 March. The precise time of the meeting will be communicated in due course.

The meeting rose at 10.20 p.m.